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TOWN MEETING



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"WHERE SHOULD YOUTH SEEK MORAL LEADERSHIP?"

Speakers:

FRANK G. CLEMENT

JERRY VOORHIS

Moderator:

DR. ORVILLE HITCHCOCK



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Youth for Christ International

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Broadcast Sundays, ABC Network, 8 to 9 p.m., Eastern Time

"WHERE SHOULD YOUTH SEEK MORAL LEADERSHIP?"

ANNOUNCER: TOWN MEETING tonight makes its second visit to the world famous Billy Sunday Tabernacle at the invitation of Winona Lake School of Theology, America's unique summer seminary in northern Indiana. The program opens the 11th annual convention of Youth for Christ International. This is an interdenominational organization, dedicated to reaching teen-age people. Its president is Dr. Robert A. Cook. Dr. Billy Graham is first vice-president.

Youth for Christ cooperates with all approved evangelical missionary societies in various countries throughout the world. It conducts rallies, evangelistic campaigns, Bible clubs and youth guidance programs. The latter activity now operates in 19 institutions in 11 states. The Womens Auxiliary Relief Ministry has collected and shipped more than 375,000 pounds of relief material to 27 countries of the world.

Now, to preside as moderator of our discussion, here is Dr. Orville Hitchcock, Professor of Speech at the State University of Iowa.

DR. HITCHCOCK: Good evening, friends. This is TOWN MEETING'S second visit to picturesque Winona Lake where we are the guests of Youth for Christ International and the Winona Lake School of Theology. In our audience here at the Billy Sunday Tabernacle are young people from all parts of the country, attending the Youth for Christ 11th annual convention.

Our topic is a most appropriate one for this audience, and I think also for this 4th of July weekend. On the eve of our great national holiday, when all of us are giving thought to the founding of our government and the principles of democracy which have been our inheritance, what better subject could we have than one which points up the place of youth in our society. This government has endured for 179 years. Its future depends upon the youth about whom we are speaking this evening. We all recognize that if we are to continue to have a progressive, dynamic society -- we must have at the base a purposive body of young people with ideals and high moral standards.

Unfortunately, there is strong evidence that today's youth are in great need of moral and spiritual guidance. Witness, for example, the news stories of yesterday and today which tell of another teen-age gang killing -- this time in Chicago. And just this morning, I read an article by the father of a gang victim in New York, in which he said "We can't blame the kids, the parents have failed." And so our subject, "WHERE SHOULD YOUTH SEEK MORAL LEADERSHIP?" seems to be an important and timely one. To discuss it, we have on our platform two especially well-qualified speakers, -- Governor Frank G. Clement of Tennessee and former Congressman Jerry Voorhis. Let's hear first from Mr. Voorhis.

A member of the United States House of Representatives from 1937 to 1947, representing his California district -- Jerry Voorhis now is Executive Director of the Co-operative League of the United States of America, and the Cooperative Health Federation of America. He is an active member of the National Council of Churches, the National Grange and the National Conference of Social Workers. Mr. Voorhis is the author of several books, among them "The Christian in Politics." Jerry Voorhis!

MR. VOORHIS: Thank you very much, Dr. Hitchcock. Everything mankind has ever loved or cherished, including life itself, will depend tomorrow on the moral fibre of the younger generation of today. The world our older generation has brought about is a dynamic world full of challenges and new frontiers. We produce more goods and gadgets than past ages have ever dreamed of.

But we also kill more people with automobiles and we pay comic television actors 100 times as much as we pay our school teachers, and we haven't yet found a way to end

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war before a war ends the human race. We have conquered indeed space, earth, sky, sea, the atom, but we have not yet conquered the evil passions of man himself.

The one towering fact about this world is that nations now possess the power to destroy human life. And the one great question before our time is: Will moral values and moral strength be developed in people and nations soon enough to prevent this arch-crime against God from being committed?

Young people see today, as they have always seen, visions of a better world -- but they need to find moral leadership to guide them there. Where shall youth seek that moral leadership? First of all, they should seek it in their homes because the family is the foundation stone of all human society and unless that stone is strong and sound the whole structure will surely crumble.

The wisest of the students of our time tell us that our chance for survival depends directly upon our ability to cooperate with our fellowmen. And the true family teaches such cooperation as a moral value because its members share not only material possessions, but sorrows and joys and apparent failures and seeming successes. Moral leadership can be found in such homes.

Second, youth should seek moral leadership in the school -- because in every school there are teachers who are not afraid to teach the whole truth and who see that mere knowledge, skill and scientific brilliance are of exactly no real value to this nation or to mankind -- unless these are coupled with moral strength and purpose. Power, after all, is not truth or goodness and success and eminence are not the goals of life. Young people will find moral leadership in the school that teaches them how to use what they learn for the benefit of mankind.

Third, our American society is filled with voluntary organizations committed to high ideals and moral principles, such as those that meet in this place here. Some of them are political, some religious, some civic, some charitable, some educational -- yes, and some are economic but wherever groups of people join voluntarily together for mutual and moral aid, there moral values are created. And where such organizations are true to their own best ideals, moral leadership can be found.

Fourth, youth can seek moral leadership from certain political leaders -- one of whom I am certain is participating with us on this program here tonight. After all, the basic ideals of our country have come from political figures like Jefferson and Lincoln. It is true that there are politicians who sell their integrity to gain office -- but there are others whose words ring true and whose acts square with their words and who would rather guide their fellow citizens toward a hard right road, even than to win elections. To such men and women youth can look for moral leadership.

But most important, young people must look for moral leadership to their religious faith. Through all history, true religion has struggled to keep the passions and ambitions of men in subjection to the will of God. Without the influence of religion, mankind would long since have lost his way. Without that influence today, the end of human civilization would indeed be in sight. The central moral leadership of all is in one simple religious precept "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as Thyself,"

When churches preach their full gospel, when they are not afraid to preach that the goal of true religion is not the world as it is, but the Kingdom of God and the Brotherhood of Man, then youth finds moral leadership there.

Finally, young people must look within themselves for a moral leadership which can be found there -- even if they cannot find it anyplace else. For within each of us is a knowledge of right and wrong. Within each of us there is a voice that speaks when we are humble and willing to learn and listen to it -- a voice that speaks today in this atomic age of the very same laws of life that it spoke of for 100, 1,000 or 2,000 years ago. This is the voice of Life with a capital L, the voice of conscience or the voice of God.

DR. HITCHCOCK: Thank you, Mr. Voorhis. And now we shall hear from Governor Clement. The nation's youngest Governor, Frank G. Clement of Tennessee is a graduate

of Vanderbilt University Law School. He is a former special investigator of the FBI, and after service in World War II, was chief counsel of the Tennessee Railroad and Public Utilities Commission. He recently was elected Chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board. Welcome to TOWN MEETING, Governor Frank G. Clement!

GOV. CLEMENT: Thank you very much. It is a great opportunity and a privilege to be on this wonderful program.

Were we to employ a current phrase in answering the query: "Where Should Youth Seek Moral Leadership?" the reply would undoubtedly be: "At the summit." Yet, that would immediately lead us into another question: "What constitutes the summit in this instance?"

Perhaps the most natural reply would be that the religious faith of one's choice would be the highest echelon at which to seek moral leadership. And there is obvious great merit in that response. Yet, consideration should be given as to whether the answer is to be found in the home itself -- the firesides of faith where most young Americans began to absorb the basic moral precepts, and to feel the early yearnings for a role of leadership as they advanced in life.

Nor should we dismiss the possibility, in this preliminary searching for the answer, that the daily business and professional life of a community, including its civic, patriotic and fraternal associations, can provide the inspiration for the moral leadership sought by youth.

Most certainly we should examine whether the moral leadership that can be found in the public leadership in America -- the holders of public office from grass roots to the White House -- is of the calibre, is it, to warrant the youth seeking the answer there.

In any day, in any year, in any generation -- the church, the home, business life, governmental administration: yes, in each of them or in a combination of them, may lie the source material for the answer to the query that keynotes this session of AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR tonight, as Youth for Christ, Incorporated, inquires with a searching glance and tone: "Where Shall We Seek Moral Leadership?"

But before I suggest a fifth possible answer to that question, let us lay the basis for it by noting that youth no longer is subject to a time limit for its definition. A world that lives longer -- here in America the average span of life has increased twenty years in half a century -- finds an earlier-maturing youth. No longer is it accurate to say that you are a "child" until you are through with your teen-age and that overnight you are in the capacity or the category of an adult. The change is not that precipitate, nor is it to be fixed by a calendar.

Maturity -- the definition of it -- is this: "A stage of full development." As the famed Dr. Charles W. Mayo observed in a recent lecture at Mount Union College in Ohio: "Maturity has little relation to chronological age. Some persons are mature at 18; others are mature at 28; some never mature. One of the more important aspects of intellectual maturity is the ability to intelligently consider advice, accept it if it is valuable and reject it if it is not."

Thus medical and scientific opinion tell us that the span of youth is shorter -- that maturity now comes earlier for the average person than at the beginning of this century and that the young people of the world in reality are more capable of mature decisions and actions today than the calendars and the birthday rosters might indicate.

You are the youth of an age that keeps threatening you with the fact that man now controls the weapons for world extinction, if he unleashes enough of them at one time. You are the youth of an age that finds military service in this free country a necessity for the males among you, as soon as you reach the age of 18½, or 17 if you volunteer. There is no plan that young men today can make for family, home, business and future, that does not involve the possibility of interruption for a 24-month minimum of military service.

You are the youth of an age that finds God-loving, God-fearing people in dangerous grip with godless governments.

You are the youth on whom tremendous shares of responsibilities in the atomic-age world have descended -- and therefore you are maturing earlier than might have been the case in a more normal and a happier state. I am concerned with you, not merely as a young man, nor as Governor, nor as citizen, but because I have three boys of my own.

In the consequence of such conditions, you are stronger, more assertive, more capable; and you seek more aggressively the proper answers to your questions and problems, chief among them being the one posed tonight: "Where Should Youth Seek Moral Leadership?"

I have the feeling that the quest for the answer to that question need proceed no further than your own mature hearts and minds and that -- with the help of God -- the implementation of your religious faith -- the influence of your associations in the home, and in business and professional life -- the maintenance of high standards of conduct on the part of public officials in this free country of ours -- you will be able to attain for yourself the quality of moral leadership out of your own desire to do so.

It is with that conviction, Mr. Chairman, that I gladly proceed into this discussion tonight.

DR. HITCHCOCK: Thank you, Governor Clement.

Mr. Voorhis, I notice that you and Governor Clement agree that youth must seek moral leadership, among other places, within its own ranks. I wonder if you would like to amplify that point a bit?

MR. VOORHIS: Yes, I think I would, because I think that young people facing the kind of world that the Governor has just so vividly described to us inevitably want to find ultimate values and ultimate leadership and seek a kind of an eternal voice. And I believe this they can find. I think, as I said and as the Governor said, there are places they can find it among other people -- but ultimately they can certainly find it in fellowship with God in their own hearts, if they humbly and sincerely and earnestly look for it there. And I believe, with the Governor, that this generation of youth facing as it does, in many respects, problems such as no previous generation has ever known, is growing up with a fibre and a raw courage that some past generations could well have emulated. I do believe that young people, from within their own minds and souls having communion with the eternal truth of God can find a leadership there certainly, whereas they may not find it other places.

GOV. CLEMENT: I think the one dangerous aspect of this question tonight would be if we left the implication, which neither the Congressman nor I have wanted to leave, and that implication would be that unless youth can find the type moral leadership they want somewhere else, then all is lost and they have no responsibility of their own. After all, God gave to only one of the creatures he made the right to build the way to heaven or to hell with their own soul, heart, mind and hands, and that was man and woman -- and basically, though we must try to point the way through these other fields and through other people, each youth must look into his own heart and into his or her own mind and be sure that there lies the final answer.

DR. HITCHCOCK: Mr. Voorhis, I wonder if we shouldn't start at the beginning and ask ourselves: is today's youth really less moral than the youth of past generations -- do we really have a problem?

MR. VOORHIS: Of course we have a problem. So did all past generations have a problem. But I don't think it is essentially different today than it has been in the past and I certainly don't think youth today is less moral, or has less moral re-

sources than youth in past generations has had. I think they live in a different world and I think they live in a world where they are much more interdependent, where the lives of each of us impinge more closely upon the lives of others -- where whenever a crime is committed it is immediately broadcast throughout the whole world and everybody knows about it and maybe a moving picture is made up -- but I think that, as the Governor has just said, that youth today as it faces this kind of world, has as much, at least, of moral courage and fibre and insight as youth had in past generations.

DR. HITCHCOCK: This week's winner of the American Peoples Encyclopedia is Thomas F. Nichols of Berkeley, California, who submitted this question: "What is the responsibility of government with regard to moral leadership?" Would you like to start our discussion of that question, Governor Clement?

GOV. CLEMENT: I certainly think it is a pertinent question and it is one all of us cannot afford to overlook. The responsibility of government in regard to moral leadership is the same responsibility which we have in the church, in the home, in business life and in every other field of endeavor, with these additional qualifications and exceptions. We cannot expect the church, of course, as and of itself to engage directly in the field of politics in most instances, but the people in government are right in the middle of politics and should carry on their activities in what we refer to as a political goldfish bowl. The responsibility of government, as I see it, briefly to summarize, is two-fold. Number One -- to abide by the laws which are on the statute books but, Number Two -- to cease feeling that these laws represent the ceiling above which we do not have to go but, instead, that these laws represent the floor beneath which we must not go, and that we should build moral leadership on top of the legal outlines which are made available to us.

DR. HITCHCOCK: You don't think we can legislate exact moral standards -- we can legislate areas?

GOV. CLEMENT: I certainly agree with the implications of your statement. I might say that man has spent a lot of time and a lot of years passing 35 million laws to try to do what the Good Lord told us to do with Ten Commandments and we haven't been too successful with it.

MR. VOORHIS: I would like to comment on that because I think we need to be careful in connection with this question, that we don't separate government from ourselves. After all, what government is in the American nation is pretty much what the American people make it and, therefore, if government does wrong it is because the American people are willing to permit it to do wrong, basically and finally. I believe government does have a responsibility but I think it is only going to be exercised through the will of the people that are seeking to follow the principles that are right. I think government's moral responsibility has to be exerted in two or three ways. One, I think it wrong to conceive that a nation or a political entity must always act from expediency and never from moral purposes and I think this is one of the things that confuses youth and I think it is mistaken because I think that political entities and governments can follow moral purpose and moral principle. In the second place, I believe that it is very important that in our political activity, that we carry to that political activity the same high level of conviction, religious, moral and otherwise, that we take into the other areas of life. I agree with the Governor that church can't be in politics, but the influence of the church and the influence of religious people needs to be exerted in political life quite as much as it does in any other realm of life.

DR. HITCHCOCK: Gentlemen, I notice that John Foster Dulles, in a commencement address on June 11, said "A nation begins to decay when people lose their sense of mission in the world" and he went on to say that "indispensable supports of the free American society are religion and morality." And Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt said in a speech the next day, on June 12, "Americans have lost their sense of excitement and deep responsibility." I noticed too that a Rabbi spoke of the dangers of satisfied Americanism, and a psychoanalyst worried about our smugness. He said the Dark Ages were here. Now, does this have any relationship to our problem? Is it possible that youth are reflecting a feeling of their elders -- a way of looking at life? Is it true that we've lost something? Lost our ideals? Lost the goals for which we used to fight? Governor, would you like to deal with that suggestion?

GOV. CLEMENT: Well, Doctor, I can only say that I think there is a great deal to be said in favor of the remarks which you quoted, but I am not as much of a prophet of gloom as a lot of others around. For one, I have to be more or less on the defensive side so far as youth is concerned, because regardless of how old I may look, I happen to be only 35 years of age, so I am young along with these young people. I don't think things are in nearly as bad shape, basically and morally, as a lot of people think, but, I think we are in danger of being in bad shape if we do become satisfied with our Americanism or anything else, and it all ties in with one thing which was said earlier and which I would like to say in my own different way and that is this: people say well, Can you mix religion and politics. Well, if your politics and your religion don't mix, there is something wrong with your politics.

MR. VOORHIS: I think that what these people have in mind is something that youth has very much in mind. I think it's this: that only people who lift us out of ourself, only people who lift us out of our selfishness can really give us moral leadership, and I think that perhaps youth recognizes today, perhaps better than some of the older ones of us do, that we are living in a new world with new problems, we're living in a world not only with these terrible weapons but we're living in a world of great movement among restless, hungry people around the world who see a new and better life ahead of them for the first time. We're living in a world where a lot of people have been crushed under totalitarian tyrannies and where some relief has got to be found for this problem, and I think youth recognizes this and I think probably youth senses, as the rest of us ought to do and I believe we do, the fact that great and heavy problems like this are only solved by people who are willing to seek a vision and to recognize that problems of this magnitude are only solved through sacrifice. They are only solved through great deeds. They are only solved through lifting your vision really high, and I think maybe this is something of what Mr. Dulles and Mrs. Roosevelt had in mind.

DR. HITCHCOCK: Some people have suggested that part of our problem is due to the fact that youth reaches physical maturity before it is given a mature place in society. In other words we have a postponing of effective adulthood. I noticed in the "Times Forums" in New York City in 1954 and 1955, young people themselves stressed this point. They said that the two R's were Responsibility and Religion, and they said youth can and should be given responsibility. Governor Clement, do you have any thoughts on that approach to this subject?

GOV. CLEMENT: Yes, sir. It wasn't too long ago that I had a very definite idea that youth ought to be given more responsibility and that's the reason I ran for governor at the age of 32 and I'm fortunate that now that the elections are behind I can say I got the people to agree with me. Well, if a young man can run for governor at the age of 32, I'm no different from the others around here -- why can't youth be given responsible positions in the church, in the community, in the business, in the civic, in the fraternal life of their area. Very definitely, all youth needs more opportunity for greater responsibility and not only are we complicated by the facts

you mentioned, we've got to face the fact that no generation of young people in the history of the world has ever faced the temptations that face young people today. No group of young people ever had the distractions apparent that are here before us today. No group of young people ever faced the compelling factor that's on their hearts and minds that their parents have got more ways and means of entertaining themselves than ever before and there is less need for a group, it would appear, to sit around and discuss the things a family should. But, we cannot get away from the fact that back a few years ago when I went to my grandfather's house and before we had the ham and the gravy at breakfast that morning, we didn't just have the blessing said. There was not only a prayer, there was a chapter read from the Bible, and it seems to me even the food tasted better back then, than it does now. I think we do need greater responsibility in every field.

DR. HITCHCOCK: Thank you, Governor. And now, ladies and gentlemen, we're ready to take questions from this large audience of young people and I notice some older people too, here at Winona Lake. Many of these young people are attending the convention of Youth for Christ International. I think the first person in line, if I can see correctly way over there to the left, is Dr. Robert Cook, who is President of Youth for Christ International. Do you have a question, sir?

DR. COOK: Yes, I do. I'd like to address it to Governor Clement, with reference to the statement he made about "looking within" for moral leadership. In our youth guidance work among delinquent young people, we find so many who have no possible chance of finding hope by looking within themselves. For these million youngsters that Attorney General Brownell says will get in trouble with the law this year. Governor, is there not a need for an authoritative faith, a personal relationship with Christ, so as to change their moral structure?

GOV. CLEMENT: No question about it, Doctor, and in line with that I might say this. Some people say "are there any real juvenile delinquents?" Well, of course, there are always a few problem children but there are a whole lot more problem adults and these children are the victims of parental delinquency, as a rule. Now we, as society, have got to bring hope to the hopeless child. The only hopeless child who could ever be found in the world is a child who lives in a society where those members of that society refuse to extend hope to the child. It's true some of them have never been given this opportunity. We recently set up in Tennessee a youth guidance commission with emphasis on the moral and the spiritual side, and we realize there are some children who are not going to find the kind of moral leadership at home that they need -- they're going to get in trouble -- and that's where the people like you, people like Mr. Voorhis, people like the TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR, people like myself cannot escape our responsibility. In addition to the general overall phase of our activities, we've got to extend some individual help through these means that we set up for those children.

DR. HITCHCOCK: Thank you, sir. I see we have a question now from Dr. John Huffman, who is President of the Winona Lake School of Theology. We seem to be starting with questions from the dignitaries present this evening.

DR. HUFFMAN: Mr. Voorhis, I note that the four points that you made as to the influences to bear upon the moral fibre of youth have to do with religion and you defined that as "true religion." Further, you define true religion by quoting the Golden Rule. I've been wondering whether true religion also should include in its definition something that is specifically relating to man and his relationship to God or Christ, as well as man and his relationship to his fellowman, especially in view of the fact that we are part of a great nation which boasts a Christian heritage.

MR. VOORHIS: I was forced to limit my statement to four minutes and, for that reason, I wasn't able to say all I'd like to have said. Had I been able to say all I'd like to have said, I would have said this: that I believe it quite impossible for people effectively to love their neighbor as themselves unless they derive from a communion with the power that gave all those fellow human beings life, the inspiration and the wisdom with which to do so. I don't think you can separate the second great commandment from the first one. I think they are essentially one and the same because I believe that love of God if truly practiced is love of one's fellow human beings. I don't think one can genuinely love one's fellow human beings unless, at the same time, he loves God.

QUESTIONER: Mr. Governor, do you not believe that working mothers have contributed to the moral breakdown of youth by their absence in the home?

GOV. CLEMENT: I can't answer that question affirmatively. I am satisfied that there has been a certain deterioration in a certain number of homes because of the fact it has been necessary for mothers to be away more than they would have liked, but, I think a child can get the same moral leadership and can have the same opportunities in a home where there is a good working mother who finds some way to see that that child gets that moral leadership, as a child in another home. You will find just as many cases, I think, of homes where a mother sits at home with too much time on her hands to really take an interest in setting the pattern for the children that she should. I think you will find just as many of those mothers who have contributed to the breakdown among the youth as you will of the mothers who happen to be working and thereby away from home.

QUESTIONER: Mr. Voorhis, do you feel that a Christian teacher can provide better moral leadership in the public schools or in the Christian schools?

MR. VOORHIS: I don't think there is any yes or no answer to that. I think that teachers genuinely consecrated to Christian principle and Christian inspiration and Christian life are needed in both places. If it was to be said that in a Christian school that teacher might go farther with her influence, it must also be said that she is probably needed worse in a public school.

DR. HITCHCOCK: I don't know that anyone has the answer to this difficult question. We can give you a chance, Governor Clement, to comment upon it, if you would like to.

GOV. CLEMENT: About the only thing I could add to what has already been said is the fact that we must face the fact that our teachers spend more time with our children during about nine months of the year than we do ourselves. A child leaves home around 8 o'clock in the morning, gets back around the middle of the afternoon or afterwards. The father left probably before the child did. The mother is occupied with a few household duties and what not and we, at the same time, must face the necessity for spending enough money to get him to our schools of those teachers who are dedicated career-workers, and who have a right to expect the same standards to be made available to them as those of us who enter the other more remunerative fields of life.

QUESTIONER: Governor Clement, during the recent Governors Conference in which state governors, at least 48 of them, participated concerning youth, what moral leadership did they recommend?

GOV. CLEMENT: I was not at the recent Governors Conference, which I assume is the one you are speaking about. That was held in New York and I was engaged in a little conference with the people of Tennessee about that time and wasn't able to get

there. I would say this: that I feel that each governor should speak for himself. I don't know what will be brought up along that line at the next conference, but I think most of us will agree that our problem, except in these fields of setting up a youth guidance commission to do a specific chore, our problem should be one of deeds instead of words.

QUESTIONER: Mr. Voorhis, to your knowledge has there been any important legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States to help the moral leadership particularly directed toward the benefit of American youth? If so, please name some of this legislation.

MR. VOORHIS: That's hard for me to answer. I think it has. I think some of the resolutions enacted by Congress having to do with the relationship of this country to other countries in the world -- for example -- I think some of them do constitute an expression of real moral leadership. If you mean laws that are passed in an attempt to regulate moral action among people, I suspect that there has been legislation in the past and will be in the future that is aimed in this direction. I don't believe that you can do a job through government excepting to the degree that the people themselves are government, as I said awhile ago, to the degree that they enter into the spirit of the thing and it's really their will that makes these things successful. I don't know whether that answers the question or not. I don't know if I really understood it.

QUESTIONER: Governor Clement, how can we, as future Christian teachers, present the Gospel to the youth as we keep within the restrictions as set up by the states?

GOV. CLEMENT: I think I know what you refer to and I can only say this. I think we sometimes complicate our thinking and our problems too much by thinking in terms of pitying the situation in which we find ourselves. I know I've been guilty of that and I assume some of the rest of you. The Christians in the early days found ways of keeping Christianity alive, even though they were being pitched into the dens out there to be eaten by lions. They found ways of keeping Christianity alive when they were put in jail -- stoned to death for what they were doing. Now today, in this great free country of ours, whether or not we agree or disagree with certain things that are said and done and certain restrictions that are placed upon us, by our everyday living, by our association with young people before and after school, by the example we set in the classrooms, by our everyday conduct, by our own moral leadership, we have unlimited fields open to us. We can get the message across if we try hard enough.

QUESTIONER: Mr. Voorhis, should children seek an answer to this question from their parents, or should they also go to their Sunday School teacher or to the pastor of their church?

MR. VOORHIS: I think that youth has to go to where it can find people who are able, as I said a little while ago, to lift them out of themselves. People who are able to challenge them to the magnitude of the decisions that our time must make. I think sometimes it's going to be parents -- I think sometimes it is going to be church leaders -- I think sometimes it is going to be teachers. The only thing I am sure of -- it can be God Almighty himself. I think you've got to find that leadership where it is worthy of the leadership that we need today. That's about all I can say.

GOV. CLEMENT: I think that is the type of question which necessitates, among other things, this observation. One child may find the moral leadership necessary

to inspire a useful productive Christian life as a result of one teacher or one parent or one pastor -- even if all of the others that you mentioned failed to do so. Another child may find his or her mind and soul lacking and yearning and, as a result, fail to lead a productive life, even though all of them you mentioned inspired moral leadership except one. That's the difference in human beings so the thing we have to seek -- the Utopia we must strive for -- is to have two good parents and good teachers and a good pastor and a good Sunday School teacher. But knowing that we are human beings and that we err and that we fail, we must have just as many of them as possible and just hope and pray that the job will be done.

QUESTIONER: Governor Clement, do you think the average American home is conducive to good moral leadership for youth?

GOV. CLEMENT: That's a question, of course, that I don't know whether anyone can answer -- even Dr. Gallup himself. It's a very thought-provoking question and I'm glad you asked it, because it puts us all to thinking. What is the average American home? Is it your home -- is it mine -- is it Congressman Voorhis' -- Dr. Hitchcock's -- or whose? Or is it someone out here on the street? Is the average American home in church or do we find that the average American home is not represented in church on Sunday morning? I can't answer the question because I don't know what you might find in the average American home. I'll say this: that with the right kind of church leadership -- with the right kind of public officials in high government positions and right on down to the grass roots -- with the right kind of TOWN MEETINGS OF THE AIR -- with the right kind of people in positions of moral leadership -- the average American home can and should be what you want it to be. Whether or not it is, you can get a variety of questions. I would be inclined to say that in the average home there is a pretty good example of morality set. But, that example alone is not enough. That's just the first step.

QUESTIONER: Mr. Voorhis, if our schools and our country is based on the Holy Bible, why was the morning devotional eliminated from some of the public schools? Secondly, why are other schools being built besides our public schools? By other schools I mean such as the parochial schools.

MR. VOORHIS: I think that the reason other schools are built is because groups of people feel that they want not only to pay the taxes that they pay as citizens for the support of public education, but they are willing to pay additional funds in order to have a school which will, they believe, be under a more direct religious influence of the sort that they want their children to have. I think this is understandable. I personally think that there ought to be a place -- maybe needs to be a place for more than one kind of worship in a public school. Maybe there needs to be time for different groups to have the particular kind of period of worship that they want, but I see no reason it shouldn't be there and I believe it is too bad when it isn't there.

QUESTIONER: Governor Clement, what part shall recreation have in the lives of young people? Shall the local church assume any such program?

GOV. CLEMENT: I can only answer your question by saying this. Your children are going to find recreation somewhere. You can count on that. Now the question is, where is it going to be? The child may find that the only place provided in the community is a honky-tonk that you consider disreputable but that's the only place that anything is going on. Well now your child may or may not go there, but a good number of the children in an average community are going to wind up there, if that's the only place where so-called recreation is provided. I'm not an advocate of the churches engaging in any particular type of recreation and I think you can get into a field of controversy when you discuss that. We don't have time to go into the details tonight but I think it is the duty of every church and every community to look around and to

see if recreational facilities are being provided for the young people. If they are not, then the church has got two choices. One is to inspire and promote the local public officials and civic leaders to do so -- or to have the church do it by itself.

QUESTIONER: Mr. Voorhis, do you not agree that we must place the moral leadership of the home, the school and the nation to the word of God, which is the source of morality and we must have a right relationship with the word of God in our hearts?

MR. VOORHIS: Indeed I do. I thought I made that clear. I believe that moral leadership comes from people seeing the world as it really is and offering leadership that will make of that world more nearly what the will of God from the beginning of time intended man's life on this earth to be. I'd like to just say that I believe in answer to that question about whether Congress had done anything that I should have said a little more, because I think that along this very line, that when Congress says that certain resources shall be used for the benefit of all the people, this is moral leadership. I think that when it says that little children shan't grow up in slums, if we can help it, this is moral leadership. I think when it says that if we have what we call a surplus it shall be given to people who need it, this is moral leadership. I believe this is the kind of thing that we need.

QUESTIONER: Governor Clement, do you believe that there is a substantial difference in the moral leadership between town and country juveniles?

GOV. CLEMENT: That idea arises as a result of the fact that we hear a lot more about teen-age gang warfare and things of that type in a big city, of course, than we do in a rural area. Such things can't thrive very long in a rural area where we have more or less a better watch over our children, but, I don't think there is any great difference. I think you've got good people and bad people in town and country. And I think there are good leaders in the country, in the city and in all walks of life, that if we'll just pool our moral and spiritual resources and do our job and follow the injunction handed down in the last two-thirds of the 8th verse of the 6th chapter of Micha, to love God and to do justly and love mercy and walk only with your God, and to carry out that idea, we'll be able to carry forward with the greatest generation of young people the world has ever known. There is nothing wrong with the young people of America today that a better example, more cooperation and a greater sense of responsibility on the part of their adults can't cure. These young people today are the most enlightened, dedicated, consecrated group of young people, I think, that you could find in any era of history, but they need help and they are willing to do their part and I think it is up to all of us to sound the keynote and rededicate ourselves, not only to the greater glory of God, to the progress of mankind, but in so doing, to the uplifting and the helping of the young people of today. They deserve it and we can do it.

QUESTIONER: Mr. Voorhis, some people believe that basic moral standards are changeable or subject to change. Do you feel that one can secure true moral guidance or leadership from such a person?

MR. VOORHIS: Not if we are talking about basic standards, no, I don't, because I don't think the eternal truths change. I believe that the principle of loving one's neighbor as oneself -- the principle of the quotation the Governor just gave is the same today as it was yesterday and 1,000 years ago. I think it's just as wrong today to kill as it was before we invented atomic bombs. I think it's just as right to make sacrifice for the welfare of human beings today as it was before. I don't think that basic moral standards change. I do think, with the Governor, that times change, problems change, needs change, and I think one thing that does change is the necessity for people to face the world as it is today and to offer their leadership on the basis of a courageous facing of the world as it is today, and not try to offer it on the basis of trying to pretend the world isn't like it is but it's like it was in a period that we would like better than we do the world today. But I don't think you can find moral leadership from people who say that the basic moral principles change from age to age, because I don't think they do.

DR. HITCHCOCK: Thank you, Governor Clement and Mr. Jerry Voorhis, for a pointed and stimulating discussion. Thanks to our hosts for this broadcast, Mr. Ted Engstrom, Executive Director of Youth for Christ International and Dr. John Huffman, President of the Winona Lake School of Theology. Our appreciation also to the staff of Station WGL in Fort Wayne.